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Force and Deceit: The Creation of an Andean-Catholic Religion

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Force and Deceit: The Creation of an Andean-Catholic Religion

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Abstract

As the Spaniards began colonizing the Andean Mountains, they spread their Catholic religion to the people and convinced these people that they needed to convert to Catholicism. As they did this, the Andean peoples began merging their own religions along with the Catholic religion to create a hybrid religion that still exists to this day in the highlands of the Andes. This religion was created in different ways on the Andean landscape, through the similarities between the religion and religious practices, abuses and forced conversions to Catholicism, and the failures of the Peruvian Extirpation. These allowed for Andean peoples to practice a form of Catholicism that was similar to that of their old religious beliefs.

Keywords

Religion, colonialism, Peru, Andes, Catholicism

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Chapter One

Introduction

In the highlands of the Andean Mountains, there are cities, towns, and villages of people practicing the religion of Catholicism. They participate in the many different rituals and holidays of the religion, as anyone would expect. In fact, about 81% of the population in Peru practice Catholicism, which is a very significant amount of the overall population.¹ Catholicism also plays a key role in the Peruvian government and the religion often influences government policies, although Peru does allow freedom of religion and for people to practice other religions besides Catholicism.² Peru is a majority Catholic country that considers the historical significance of the spread of Catholicism throughout the region during the Spanish conquest and during the colonial period. However, modern Peruvian Catholicism is practiced differently from Catholicism in European countries. This difference has been around since the beginning of colonization in Peru and still lasts today, especially in Cusco and towns and villages throughout the highlands of the Andes. During the colonial period, Catholicism was somewhat forced onto the indigenous peoples who began to practice the religion for the appearance of conversion, but were still practicing their indigenous religions in secret. As generations of Andean people did this, the Andean religions began to intermix with the Catholic religion.

Throughout the colonial period, Catholicism and Andean religions began to create a new, hybrid religion. A hybrid religion can be described as a religion that has elements of both old religions that are equally used in a new religion. Although one may argue that Peruvian Catholicism is mostly a European Catholic religion, there are many ways that it is also equally

¹ "International Religious Freedom Report for 2016: Peru," U.S. Department of State, accessed December 11, 2017, <https://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/irf/religiousfreedom/index.htm?year=2016&dlid=269002#wrapper>.

² Ibid.

Andean. It may not be as evident, but in many regions throughout the Andes, citizens, who are especially of indigenous heritage, practice Catholic holidays with an Andean style and belief or simply practice old rituals that have never really been associated with Catholicism.³ They have also merged old Andean rituals and practices into Catholic rituals, which allows the two religions to merge into one, single religion. This hybrid practice is not only seen in the highlands of Peru, but also in the highlands of Bolivia and Ecuador, which were previously parts of the Inca Empire. This is not only a Peruvian religion that occurred throughout the colonial and modern periods, but also a religion that has occurred in other regions that were previously under Inca rule.

The Inca Empire was a large empire that expanded from Ecuador to northern Chile and Argentina and western Bolivia.⁴ The Inca influenced this vast land and mountainous area, and spread their own personal religion into these areas to convert these people to a new religion, although they did not force it upon these people as the Spaniards later did.⁵ This led to a similar religion throughout the region, although the religions intermixed with one another and created hybrid Andean religions throughout the empire.⁶ The Inca had very complex rituals and religious practices that were practiced throughout the Andes.⁷ They would celebrate different seasons and times of the year based off the seasons and astronomical calendar.⁸ They also would have sacrifices to celebrate these important holidays. Their religions also had a very complex set of rules that were important for the people to follow and understand.⁹ The Andeans also practiced

³ Jorge Luis Delgado and MaryAnn Male, *Andean Awakening* (Council Oak Books, 2006), 1-2.

⁴ Craig Morris and Adriana von Hagen, *The Incas* (London: Thames & Hudson Ltd, 2011), 12.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 44.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 44.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 65.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 70-73.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 65-66.

ancestor worship, and they would pray and speak to their dead ancestors and communicate about things happening in their present lives.¹⁰ It was also important for them to keep the mummies of past emperors, and these emperors would have cults that would continue speaking to them and maintaining the lands they conquered.¹¹

In 1532, the Spaniards reached Peru under Pizarro and began to take over the Inca Empire. It was a long, bloody conquest and there were many areas the Spaniards were unable to truly conquer, as many of these areas were high in the mountains and hard to reach. After the conquest finished, there was a civil war between the Spaniards living in the area. When this civil war finished, the Spaniards began to focus on creating encomiendas to use indigenous labor for their own gains and needs. On these encomiendas, the Spaniards began building churches and having Catholic friars live on the lands to convert the Andean peoples to Catholicism. During this conversion, many Andeans continued practicing their indigenous religions while pretending they were true, loyal Catholics. Future generations began to become true practitioners of Catholicism, although they continued practicing indigenous religions and rituals. This led to the hybridity that was previously mentioned, and this hybridity has continued to modern Catholicism in the Andean highlands of Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador.

However, what could have led to this hybridity of religions during the colonial period? There are different possibilities for this event that slowly took place in the Andes. There are different times throughout history that allowed for this hybrid religion, but the beginning of the religion was in the colonial period and began at the start of the Spanish conquest into Peru. Hybridity began with missionaries traveling throughout the Andes and spreading Catholicism to the Andean people. The Andean peoples were expected to convert and practice Catholicism, so

¹⁰ Ibid., 68-69.

¹¹ Ibid., 70.

many would claim to be practitioners while also continuing to practice their old beliefs in secret. These secret religious practices led to a hybrid religion over the generations, as new generations began to believe in Catholicism and actually practice it. Hybridity also occurred because of the many similarities between Andean religions and Catholicism. Andean religions were very focused on rituals and holidays throughout the region, and they played an important role in Andean life. They also had ancestor worship and these ancestors were later merged with the Catholic saints. Inca Garcilaso de la Vega claims that the Andean religious way of life was similar and almost exact to that of Catholicism, and he argues that this allowed for the conversion of Andean peoples to Catholicism.¹² These many similarities between the religions allowed for the hybrid religion to take place and flourish in the Andean society, especially in the highlands away from Spanish influences.

The Catholic Church was also worried about the occurrence of hybridity, but decided that the Spanish Inquisition should not participate in harming indigenous people; instead, Peru decided to create the Extirpation which was like the Inquisition but was able to put Andeans on trial for their sins and heretical behaviors.¹³ Many indigenous people were accused of practicing their old beliefs or merging them with Catholicism, which went against the many beliefs of the Church. The Extirpation tried to stop this hybridity and would persecute Andean peoples who continued to practice their old religions.¹⁴ In the end, the Extirpation realized that they had made many mistakes during their trials and that they could not put a stop to this heresy. The institution was unable to function properly, and this quickly led to Andean peoples continuing to practice

¹² Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, *The Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, trans. Maria Jolas (The Orion Press, Inc., 1961), 17, 348.

¹³ Nicholas Griffiths, "'Inquisition of the Indians?': The Inquisitorial Model and the Repression of Andean Religion in the Seventeenth-Century Peru," *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* 3, no. 1 (1994): 19.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 8.

their old religions alongside Catholicism. By not being able to punish them, the hybridity of Catholicism and Andean religions continued to take place and become even stronger throughout the years.

The conquistadores and Spanish missionaries and friars spread their Catholic religion throughout the New World, hoping to convert the indigenous people. However, the people throughout the Andes, and many other areas of the Spanish colonial world, suffered many injustices by the Spaniards and were forced into conversion. Some Andean people were able to convert of their own free will though, as is seen from some indigenous writers from the colonial period. This conversion of Andean peoples led to a hybrid religion that still exists in the highlands of Peru. The hybrid Catholicism and Andean religion occurred because of basic similarities between Andean religions and Catholicism, forced conversions and Andeans pretending to be Catholics, and the Peruvian Extirpation allowing Andeans to continue their mixed religious practices due to the belief they were simple-minded fools.

Other historians have discussed colonial Peru and the Catholic Church and its influences. They have also considered the merging of Catholicism and Andean religions, and have written what this hybrid religion looked and currently looks like. However, most have not explored why and how this hybrid came into existence, as I plan on doing in my own research. They exclude this important aspect of Peruvian Catholicism and instead discuss what this religion is and how it exists in the modern day. Understanding the creation of the hybrid religion is important as we can better conceptualize the colonial religion and modern Catholicism. There are many factors to what created this hybrid religion, and I plan to discuss these factors and how they each led to the creation of a hybrid religion in the Andes.

An important historian who has considered religion in colonial Latin America is Kenneth Mills, a professor at the University of Michigan. He specializes in colonization and diaspora and religion, especially in Latin America and Africa. In 1994 he published *An Evil Lost to View? An Investigation of Post-Evangelisation Andean Religion in Mid-Colonial Peru*. This work focuses on a specific case in the Acas district of Peru and the different idolatry cases in the highlands. Mills's focus in this book is how Catholic officials tried to put a stop to Andean idolatry, and his study is focused mostly on the Andean people in Lima, although he does include information about the Catholic officials. In his opinion, Andean people and Spanish churchmen are intertwined when discussing topics like this because "the study of the two elements belong together."¹⁵ Because of this, Mills is very useful when discussing Andean religious origins. He discusses how Spanish churchmen were influencing Andean religious practices, although he does not seem to describe how these practices came about. This allows me to consider the role of the Catholic officials in the creation of the Andean Catholic religion. Their role was important as they reported on the religion and tried to force the conversion of Andeans. By using Mills's work, I can further consider the role of the Catholic officials, even if his argument is based mainly on a specific case in Lima.

Gordon McEwan wrote *The Incas: New Perspectives* in 2006. His monograph focuses on the Inca and Andean culture before the conquest and arrival of the Spaniards. He does mention some information about the colonial period, but his focus is pre-colonial. His work is important for my own research as he includes an entire chapter about the Andean religious practices, and this chapter helps further my knowledge of Andean religion. He is very descriptive in the different aspects of the religion. Although he does not compare Andean practices to Catholicism,

¹⁵ Kenneth Mills, *An Evil Lost to View? An Investigation of Post-Evangelisation Andean Religion in Mid-Colonial Peru* (University of Liverpool, 1994), 13.

his detailed descriptions help me be able to make this comparison. McEwan is an important source in better understanding Andean culture before the colonial period, which is important for different aspects of my research.

In “‘Inquisition of the Indians?’: The Inquisitorial Model and the Repression of Andean Religion in the Seventeenth-Century Peru,” Nicholas Griffiths describes what exactly the Extirpation in Peru was. He goes into great detail about what the goals of the Extirpation were and how they hoped to achieve these goals. He also discusses how the Extirpation failed multiple times in trying to stop Andean religions and hybridity. This is an important source as it helps my argument of how Spanish Catholic Institutions continuously failed in stopping hybridity and Catholic idolatry and heresy, which is how the Spaniards helped in creating the Catholic-Andean hybrid religion.

John Charles wrote *Allies at Odds: The Andean Church and Its Indigenous Agents, 1583-1671*. His monograph focuses on how the Catholic Church was able to have Andean people work alongside them to stop Andean religions and hybridity between Catholicism and Andean religions. He also discusses how Andean peoples were able to merge their religious beliefs with Catholicism, and he uses different examples of this in his monograph. It is especially important because it describes how the Extirpation tried to bring an end to Andean religious practices, but was unable to do so. His focus on the Extirpation is important in my chapter describing the Extirpation and how they tried to stop Andean religions.

Paul Charney is the author of “A Sense of Belonging: Colonial Indian Cofradias and Ethnicity in the Valley of Lima, Peru” and discusses how ethnicity played an important role in religious life in colonial Peru. He describes how cofradias, which were groups of laymen in Latin America who were in charge of religious images, pilgrimages, and ceremonies, led to the

creation of religious differences in Peru and a hybrid Andean religion.¹⁶ He claims that Andean people were the majority of these *cofradías* and that this majority allowed them to bring in their own religious influences from past Andean practices.¹⁷ However, his main argument is how ethnicity played a role in the Lima and is not focused on the Andean hybridity. Although hybridity plays a role in his argument, it is not his main focus in the argument. Charney's article can assist with my own research as he describes the *cofradías*, which can assist with my own argument and I can use the information of the *cofradías* to explain how an Andean Catholicism came into existence. Charney does not do this in his article and does not claim that *cofradías* led to Andean Catholicism, as that is not his argument.

Although some historians do consider the creation of a hybrid religion, other historians do not seem to do so as much. Instead, they discuss what the religion was and has become in the modern period. Because of this, I plan on focus on what led to the creation of the religion, although at times I will discuss what the religion is, as that is also important for understanding the creation. I plan to take a different approach from other historians when considering the creation of the hybrid religion, which includes religious similarities, abuses done by church officials, and the Peruvian Extirpation.

Along with this, there are different primary sources that are useful and important for understanding Andean religion before the arrival of the Spaniards and the religious practices after the hybrid religion was created. These sources were key to understanding hybridity in the colonial period. Although these sources may not necessarily discuss forced conversions of

¹⁶ Paul Charney, "A Sense of Belonging: Colonial Indian *Cofradías* and Ethnicity in the Valley of Lima, Peru," *The Americas* 54, no. 3 (January 1998): 383. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1008415>.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 394-395; 399-400.

Andean people, they do hint at them at different moments. They also discuss the abuses Andean peoples faced by the Spaniards and church officials.

In 1609, Inca Garcilaso de la Vega published *The Royal Commentaries of the Inca* (*Comentarios Reales de los Incas*), which is a chronicle describing the history of the Inca Empire. Inca Garcilaso was a mestizo born in Peru to a noble Inca mother and Spanish father, and he was raised in his mother's family and later moved to Spain when he was about twenty-two years old, and he lived there for the rest of his life.¹⁸ Along with this, he discusses the Virgins of the Sun, which was an Andean organization similar to the nunneries of Catholicism, although there were still major differences.¹⁹ When Catholicism entered the Andean landscape, the Virgins of the Sun easily converted to becoming Catholic nuns, although at later times the Spaniards did not want indigenous women to be part of the nunneries. Inca Garcilaso is also an important source as he discusses other aspects of Andean religious beliefs and what happened when Catholicism became a part of religious activities.

Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala was an Andean nobleman who wrote *The First New Chronicle and Good Government* (*El primer nueva crónica y buen gobierno*). His chronicle was finished around 1615 and was a letter to King Philip III of Spain to tell him about the history of the Inca and also the abuses and injustices the Andean people were suffering by the hands of the Spaniards.²⁰ The first half of his letter explains the history of the Inca and the second half of the letter focuses on the abuses and explains how encomenderos, priests, viceroys, and so many other Spanish officials, along with Spaniards who were not involved with the government and

¹⁸ "Garcilaso de la Vega," Encyclopedia Britannica, accessed December 4, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Garcilaso-de-la-Vega-Spanish-chronicler>.

¹⁹ Vega, *The Royal Commentaries*, 85.

²⁰ "Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala," Encyclopedia Britannica, accessed December 4, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Felipe-Guaman-Poma-de-Ayala>.

were commoners, were hurting Andean people and making them not want to convert to Catholicism.²¹ Although Guaman Poma claims that the old religion was evil and not godly like Christianity, he still sympathizes with those who continue practicing the old religions or have merged it into a hybrid religion. He sometimes even lists people by name and what crimes they have committed against Andean people. Guaman Poma hoped that this letter would reach the king and he would solve the problem of colonial abuses, but the abuses did not stop and it is also uncertain if the king ever knew about the existence of this letter.²²

An Inca Account of the Conquest of Peru is a chronicle written by Titu Cusi Yupanqui, who was the emperor of the neo-Inca state of Vilcabamba. He was the son of Manco Inca Yupanqui, who was the founder of Vilcabamba and the son of Huayna Capac and brother to Huascar and Atahualpa, who were the previous emperors of the empire before the Spaniards took over. Titu Cusi was alive during the conquest and recounts what he remembers from the conquest and what was also told to him by family members as he had been young at the time. He also discusses how he converted to Christianity after allowing missionaries into Vilcabamba and learning from them. He also writes about Catholicism and how it played a role in his life and the lives of Andean people, which can give some information about a hybrid religion being produced. However, he was later killed and his brother Tupac Amaru became emperor and did not convert to Christianity like his two brothers until the last few moments of his life before he was executed.

Bartolomé de las Casas was a Dominican friar who viewed the Andean people very differently from many other Spanish in the area.²³ He claimed they were innocent, childish

²¹ Ibid.

²² "Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala," Britannica.

²³ "Bartolome de las Casas," Encyclopedia Britannica, accessed December 5, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Bartolome-de-Las-Casas>.

individuals who needed saving through God, but that the Spaniards were abusing and killing them for the sake of just hurting the Andean people.²⁴ Because of this, las Casas wrote *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies (Brevisima relación de la destrucción de las Indias)*. Unlike my other three sources, las Casas was not Andean at all and was completely Spanish. However, his account is still important for the topic as he discusses conversion of Andean people, but also he makes a similar claim to Inca Garcilaso that the Inca Empire was ancient and important, much like the Roman Empire. He also defends the Andean people throughout the chronicle as they are like children to him. However, there are still many biases for las Casas and some of what he has written is not always trusted as he wanted to show the Andeans in a specific way and ignored any wrongdoings they might have done. He also ignores the idea that the Spaniards would not have wanted to kill indigenous people as they wanted to have the right to their labor through encomenderos, and killing them would harm this entire concept.

Cristobal do Molina was a Spanish chronicler who wrote *Fabulas y mitos de los Incas (Account of the Fables and Rites of the Incas)*. His source focuses primarily on the Inca religious beliefs before the conquest, and he uses sources from Andean peoples to describe what their religious beliefs had been. However, he also describes a tale that was spreading throughout the Andes about how the Spaniards would soon be defeated and the Andeans would gain control of the land again. This is important when I describe the abuses from Spaniards as he talks about these abuses at different moments, although he tends to quickly go back to describing how ridiculous the Andean peoples are for having this idea. I use this source to further my argument of abuses and how Andean peoples felt about the abuse they faced by the Spaniards.

²⁴ Ibid.

Although I have a few primary sources that are central to my research, I am limited to specific primary and secondary sources. Many documents written by Church officials during the colonial period were written in Latin, but I do not know Latin and this means I am unable to use these documents or know what they say. Other documents from colonial Peru are also written in Spanish, which I also am unable to read or speak. This has limited my research to using primary sources translated to English, which is why my sources are chronicles written during the colonial period and which also focus on the history of the Inca Empire. These sources are still helpful because they mention religion before and during the colonial period. Also, by using these chronicles, I have decided to approach the topic with a more indigenous approach and consider what indigenous writers were saying about Catholicism. Because of this, three out of my five primary sources are written by people with Andean ancestry, although each of these writers are of the noble class and will have a different viewpoint from commoners during the colonial era. Another weakness is that I am not able to visit Peru and do research there. Even if I was able to visit Peru and look through the archives, I cannot read Spanish or Latin which would be an issue when looking through the archives.

Finally, colonial Peru was a very large, complex landscape where two different cultures came together, and overtime these two cultures created a different religion that had aspects of both cultures. The Spanish brought Catholicism to Peru and the Andean people converted to the religion, whether it was forced or chosen by free will, and brought their own religious beliefs to become part of Catholicism. The two religions already had some similarities, and this allowed for the creation of a specific Andean religion. This religion was created through similarities between Andean religions and Catholicism, abuses from Spaniards and church officials which caused Andean peoples to secretly practice their old religions, and the Peruvian Inquisition

which allowed Andeans to continue practicing more than one religion at the same time. Inca Garcilaso, Guaman Poma, Titu Cusi Yupanqui, Casas, and Molina each discuss at least one of these aspects which is why they are important as primary sources. This research is important in understanding why modern Peruvian Catholicism is so different from European Catholicism and has indigenous practices and beliefs.

Chapter Two

Spirituality: Similarities Between Andean Religions and Catholicism

The Inca Empire had been established for hundreds of years before the Spaniards arrived in Latin America. The empire had conquered a large majority of the Andean Mountains and were bringing their religion to the people. The Inca delivered their religious beliefs to the lands they conquered, but also allowed these people to continue practicing their old religious values as long as they incorporated the Inca's personal beliefs.²⁵ The Inca Empire created a State Religion that was different from the many religions throughout the area, but still incorporated some of the basic ideas that the other religions had and believed in. Even though people were expected to follow the Inca State religion, they were also allowed to practice their own beliefs, even if this were vastly different from the Inca. This allowed for a very diverse religious region in the Andes as Andean peoples were merging religions together and creating new, hybrid religions. The practice of creating hybrid religions had been part of a long history of Andean peoples.

When the Spaniards arrived in the Andes, they began spreading their religious beliefs to the Andean peoples, and in some cases, they forced the Andeans to convert to Catholicism. However, many people claimed to have converted to Catholicism, but instead they were still practicing their old beliefs.²⁶ They would pretend to practice Catholicism in the public sphere, but in their privacy of their homes, they practiced Andean religions. Some did this because of what Manco Inca Yupanqui instructed them to do before he left and was killed by the Spaniards. When he left, he told the Andeans to “go through with [Catholicism] while they are present if

²⁵ Gordon McEwan, *The Incas: New Perspectives* (W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2006), 137.

²⁶ Morris and von Hagen, *The Incas*, 76.

you can't help it."²⁷ He was worried that the Spaniards would destroy Andean society and force them to convert to a false religion. He also did not want his people becoming part of a violent religion that accepted and favored the murder of innocent people, but this will be further discussed later. The people who heard him speak cheered and cried for him, as his son Titu Cusi Yupanqui writes in his account.²⁸ As instructed, many Andeans did as he told and would pretend to practice Catholicism and their old religion. Over time, this led to a hybrid religion between Andean religions and Catholicism. However, why was this merging of religions so easy and simple for them to do? Before the Spaniards arrived, it was simple for Andean peoples to merge the many religions throughout the region, but that was mainly because the religions were each so similar. They all had their similarities with basic concepts and ideas. It may not have been as evident for the Spaniards, but the hybridity that appeared between Catholicism and Andean religions was because of the vast similarities between the two religions. They may have looked and seemed to be very different from each other, but they each focused on very similar concepts.

The Inca religion believed in mummification of ancestors and worshipping mummies. When an important member of society died, they were mummified by the people.²⁹ These mummies were often nobles or people of great importance. Although ancestors were deceased, they still held power in the living world as they “exerted enormous influence and control over the actions of the living.”³⁰ It was important for the people to care for the mummies by clothing them, feeding them, and offering them gifts that would please them in the afterlife.³¹ The

²⁷ Titu Cusi Yupanqui, *An Inca Account of the Conquest of Peru*, trans. Ralph Bauer (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2005), 116.

²⁸ Titu Cusi Yupanqui, *An Inca Account*, 116.

²⁹ Commoners were not mummified. People who were not of nobility were instead buried with a few belongings and worshipped by immediate family members. They were not seen as highly as nobles. Only nobles had the honor of being mummified and worshipped into the afterlife. (McEwan, *New Perspectives*, 140).

³⁰ McEwan, *New Perspectives*, 139.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 139.

mummies would also assist the living by helping them with necessary aspects of life such as land, food, and water.³² In this way, deceased ancestors were still an important part of the living world and had a great influence on decisions in the ayllus (Andean community).

Mummy worship was also the case for the Inca. When the Inca died, he would be mummified and still held his power as an emperor.³³ This aspect of the Inca Empire was complex, and at times confusing to people not part of the Inca Empire, as the emperor still was an emperor in his death. The Inca would be worshipped by the people in his city and placed into a palace specifically built for his mummy. Along with this, the Inca's peoples still worshipped him and believed him to be their true emperor. The Inca also still owned the land he had conquered when he was alive, so each of those lands belonged to him and not the new Inca.³⁴ The new Inca would have to conquer new lands in order to have his own lands to claim and own after death. This meant that many of the Inca lands did not belong to the current Inca, but instead to past Incas who had conquered the land. This complex system is also what helped lead to the downfall of the empire as new Incas were unable to conquer Quechua speaking lands because they had already been conquered and conquering new lands was difficult, especially because they spoke different languages and were nomadic peoples who did not stay in one place.

Still, the mummies were greatly respected by the Andean peoples and were held to the highest esteem. Inca Garcilaso de la Vega describes the mummies in his chronicle, and writes that the Temple of the Sun in Cuzco was where they "kept numerous mummies of former Inca kings, which were so well preserved that they seemed to be alive."³⁵ He also writes that the

³² Ibid., 139.

³³ Ibid., 140.

³⁴ Ibid., 140-141.

³⁵ Vega, *The Royal Commentaries*, 76.

mummies “were seated on their golden thrones resting on plaques of this same metal.”³⁶ With his descriptions in mind, it is evident that the Inca mummies were highly venerated and respected by the Andean peoples as they were kept in the capital city of Cuzco in the Temple of the Sun.

Inca mummification rituals are in a way like the Saints of Catholicism. Saints were people in Catholicism who had done great deeds for the religion and were good, pure Catholics who showed why Catholicism was important for the religion. To this day, Saints are technically worshipped by Catholics and praised for their deeds. One such saint is Rose of Lima who lived from 1586 to 1617.³⁷ She was part of the habit of St. Dominic and modeled her life after St. Catherine; she was known for her extreme penance for the Catholic faith in which she would wear a crown of spikes and starve herself for days.³⁸ Along with this, she would speak to the Catholic God about the Americas and how there was much idolatry in the land and that she was upset by the numerous sinners who disrespected the Catholic faith.³⁹ After her death, Rose of Lima became a saint in 1671 and was the first American to become a saint.⁴⁰ She has a feast on August 30 to celebrate her deeds and works for the Catholic faith.⁴¹ She is also known as the patron saint of Peru and South America. An important thing to note is how she wanted to save the people of her land for the sins and idolatries, and in this way, she could actually be talking about the Andean peoples who practiced a form of idolatry by worshipping their old Andean ancestors and gods and the Catholic God and saints. Sin was found throughout the Andean mountains according to different priests and missionaries as Andean peoples practiced their own

³⁶ Ibid., 76.

³⁷ Edward Ayme, “St. Rose of Lima,” in *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912), <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/13192c.htm>.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

form of Catholicism. This later led to the Spanish Inquisition in the Americas, which is another topic of discussion.

Saints are vastly important for Catholics as they are important for the religious beliefs. People worship these saints and use them as patrons. Churches are often named after them and there are sacred places based on these saints. Along with this, saints often have sacred objects that are attached to them, such as bones or articles of clothes or objects that were in their possessions. These are called relics and are important for saints to have. Catholics honor these relics and view them as very important to them. Also, saints have festivals on specific days of the year where people will feast in their honor. This was previously mentioned when discussing Saint Rose of Lima who has her own festival once per year for people to celebrate what she had done for Catholicism. These holidays are similar to holidays that Andean peoples would have on specific days where they would celebrate different gods, mummies, or seasons. The Andeans enjoyed celebrating festivals, and the fact that saints had festivals on their own personal days allowed the Andeans to be interested in converting to Catholicism.

There may be some differences between Catholic saints and Inca mummies, but they are still very similar to one another. The Inca had previously been worshipping their mummies and viewing them as sacred and powerful. When they learned about the Catholic saints, they treated the saints similarly to how they treated mummies.⁴² In many ways, this upset the Catholic priests and missionaries who did not want the Inca to necessarily worship the mummies, but to venerate them and understand their importance in the religion. Along with worshipping saints, the Catholics also had these relics to show the importance of the saints. The Inca had the bodies and

⁴² Charney, *A Sense of Belonging*, 399-340.

possessions of mummies and they were considered holy objects, which was the same for the relics of saints. These similarities between saints and mummies allowed for the Inca to easily merge the two religions into a new hybrid religion. They each were highly regarded by the religious communities and had holy objects attached to them. In this way, the Andean peoples could slightly change their religion to view the saints as mummies as they each had basic similarities. Andean peoples also liked having access to different Catholic religious items such as rosaries, crucifixes, statues, and paintings because it allowed them to be connected to the religion.⁴³ This was like their old religion as they often had access to certain artifacts of their mummies and they were held to a great importance in the religion. However, it is possible that they used these religious items as either “the Indians’ devotion to Catholicism, or at least to its trappings.”⁴⁴ Either way, they were still showing a way of converting to Catholicism due to its similarities with the Andean religions.

Another important aspect of this is that even after the Andean peoples began converting to Catholicism is that they also continued worshipping the old Inca mummies. Many mummies had been destroyed by the Spaniards during the conquest, but the Andeans found different ways to pretend they still had the mummified bodies. In major cities and throughout the Andes, they would perform mascararas where they would parade the dead Incas throughout the city.⁴⁵ Many of the people in Lima who celebrated the mascararas was mestizos who could trace their lineage back to Andean nobility.⁴⁶ In this way, important figures within Lima were showing their Andean heritage and respect for the Inca rituals and creating an Andean sense of identity throughout

⁴³ Ibid., 394.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 394.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 382.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 382.

major cities that were filled with Spaniards. Paul Charney argues that this could possibly be a sign of rebellion for people of Andean descent⁴⁷, and I do have to agree with him as this does seem to be a sign of rebellion. Although he does not necessarily explain why it was rebellious, the reason why it could be seen that way is because they were parading, celebrating, and honoring the Incas in situations where they should have instead been honoring the king of Spain or even Catholic saints. The mascararas were a way of showing their hybridity with European ideas and Andean beliefs and festivals.

The Inca State religion also had an order of women known as the Virgin of the Suns. According to Vega, who was very biased against Andean religion and was a devout Catholic, this was the only form of Inca religion that could be considered real religion as it was so similar to the Catholic nuns.⁴⁸ He writes that the Virgins of the Sun took a “vow of celibacy observed by certain chosen women, in the houses of reclusion built for them throughout the Empire by these kings.”⁴⁹ He also claims that Spanish chroniclers who had previously described the Virgins of the Sun had written false information about them or had simply decided they were not important enough to describe.⁵⁰ Because of this, he dedicates a few chapters on the Virgins of the Sun to allow readers to better understand who they were and what they believed in.

In Cuzco, the Temple of the Sun had a convent right next to it for the virgins to live in, and these virgins were always of royal blood and were not allowed to see or speak to anyone except the Coya (queen) and her daughters.⁵¹ They were also in charge of creating the clothing

⁴⁷ Ibid., 383.

⁴⁸ Vega, *The Royal Commentaries*, 85.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 85.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 85.

⁵¹ Ibid., 86.

for the Inca and Coya, along with their children.⁵² There were other convents throughout the empire, but a difference between these and the Cuzco convent was that the virgins throughout the empire did not need to be of royal blood.⁵³ It was often preferred that they be of royal blood, but it was not a requirement for the convents outside of Cuzco. In Cuzco, they were required to be of royal blood or else they would have to search for a different convent. Most of these virgins remained virgins throughout their lives, but the most beautiful of them would sometimes become one of the Inca's concubines.⁵⁴ Still, these women were married to the Sun, who was the main god of the Inca religion, and they were meant to stay this way for their entire lives. Even if they became a concubine, they were still considered a virgin and wife of the sun, as the Inca was descended from the sun.

The Virgins of the Sun were very similar to that of the Catholic nuns, who are women who have dedicated their lives to celibacy and their religion. They are also considered to be the Brides of Christ, which is similar to how the virgins were the wives of the Sun. Nuns live their lives dedicated to their faith, and they take certain vows that set them apart from other women in the Catholic Church. The nuns were like the virgins because they both lived very similar lifestyles apart from many people in their religion and lived simple lives where they had very few possessions. During colonization, the Catholic convents began to be created in Peru, and it seemed normal to many Andean people to have women who would join these nunneries for the Catholic faith. Vega, who was a devout Catholic but also of Andean heritage, points out that the virgins were similar to the nuns and that the virgins were one of the most modern aspect of the

⁵² Ibid., 86-87.

⁵³ Ibid., 88.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 88.

Inca religion. The Catholic nuns were a very normal part of society to the Andean people as they had previous experience with the Virgins of the Sun.

The Inca State religion also included priests who were important in maintaining the many temples in the Empire. The priests were important members of society who were highly respected by the people.⁵⁵ They were expected to understand the religion better than anyone else, as they could speak to the mummies and gods, and they could create prophecies of what was to come.⁵⁶ They were also vital when it came to sacrifices and praying.⁵⁷ Along with this, the priests would hear confessions of sins committed by Andean peoples.⁵⁸ One account claims that the Andeans “would accuse themselves of not having revered the Sun, the Moon, and the huacas.”⁵⁹ There were also moments when all the priests in the Andes would gather together in Cuzco.⁶⁰ The uilac-umu (High Priest of the Sun) would conduct the meeting and decide who could continue to be or could no longer be a priest in the empire, and he would also name new priests to take their places. He was in charge of all aspects of the priesthood and religious life in the Andes.

With all of this in mind, there are already similarities between the Andean priests and Catholic priests and missionaries. For example, the Andean priests had the uilac-umu who was in charge of the priesthood and religion, and sometimes he could wield more power than the Inca.⁶¹ The uilac-umu was similar to the Catholic pope who held control over Catholicism in Europe

⁵⁵ Morris and von Hagen, *The Incas*, 66.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 66.

⁵⁷ McEwan, *New Perspectives*, 143.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 144.

⁵⁹ Cristobal de Molina, *Account of the Fables and Rites of the Incas*, trans. Brian S. Bauer and Vania Smith-Oka (University of Texas Press: 20110), 20, ProQuest Ebook Central, <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ucb/detail.action?docID=3443536>.

⁶⁰ Morris and von Hagen, *The Incas*, 66.

⁶¹ Vega, *The Royal Commentaries*, 77.

and could decide upon cardinals in his order. He also would at times have more power than European kings as he was the one who could communicate with God and was believed to understand the religion better than anyone else. The pope and priests, along with missionaries, in Catholicism are also highly regarded by the laypeople, which is similar to Andean beliefs. The priests of Andean religions held similar power over people as the priests of Catholicism did. Because of this, the Andeans could find a way to convert to Catholicism. They were accustomed to the concept of priests having control over their beliefs, and it was most likely simple for them to change their following to a new type of priesthood. Even though many did switch to following the priests of Catholicism, they also continued practicing following the orders of old Andean priests. Such priests would hide their powers and beliefs from the Church as they “had long been identified as mortal enemies by the Church.”⁶² They were also the ones who were evidently creating hostilities between Andean peoples and Catholicism, which is what led them to be enemies of the Church.⁶³ Because these priests still existed in colonial society, the Andean version of Catholicism included Catholic priests and Andean priests mixed together and equally used by Andean peoples.

Guaman Poma actually claims that the Andean peoples were already Christians long before the Spaniards ever arrived, and that one of Jesus Christ's disciples came to the Americas to spread Christianity. Over time, the religion changed due to the lack of the Catholic Church, but when the Church entered the Andean Mountains, the Andean peoples remembered their Christian faith and were easily able to convert. He writes that the Andeans “kept the Ten

⁶² Mills, *An Evil Lost to View*, 55.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 55.

Commandments and the good works of pity, alms, and charity among themselves”⁶⁴ because of the aspects of their religion where they were expected to be charitable towards others. The beginning of his letter tells of how the Inca were true, good Christians, unlike the Spaniards, and that the Spaniards never needed to conquer their lands and convert them because they were already Christians. His argument may be a stretch, but it still is important to note as it assists the idea that the Andeans converted to Catholicism because it was similar to their own beliefs. If they were already practicing a similar type of religion, then it would have been very easy for them to convert to Catholicism.

Before the Spaniards arrived, the Andeans were already accustomed to converting to new religions and changing their beliefs. They followed the state religion offered to them by the Inca, and many of the Inca beliefs were similar to their own. They were already so used to religious changes, that changing to a religion like Catholicism was not difficult for them at all. They had also were used to merging their old religion to their new religion, which was accepted by the Inca as they believed it was important to keep some type of old religious beliefs. This old practice in the Andes allowed for the hybrid religion between Catholicism and Andean religions to occur.

The Andean peoples used their religious beliefs and Catholicism to create a new religion that included concepts of both religions. On the outside, it was mostly viewed as Catholic as it included a Catholic belief system. They celebrated the saints, prayed to God, attended Catholic mass, and created their own indigenous religious groups. Catholicism became an important part of their lifestyles. However, Andean Catholicism also included indigenous concepts and rituals.

⁶⁴ Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *The First New Chronicle and Good Government*, trans. David Frye (Indianapolis: Hackett Publish Company, Inc., 2006), 28.

They would still practice old festivals and worship their ancestors. They also would do certain rituals such as the “use of coca for chewing, divination, and curing ... in the efficacy of love potions or powders and fortune-telling.”⁶⁵ Each of these went against Catholicism and could be seen as sinful in the eyes of the Catholic Church. They could also be seen as heretics and participants of witchcraft, which is what led to the creation of the Spanish Inquisition in the New World.

⁶⁵ Charney, *A Sense of Belonging*, 394.

Chapter Three

The Spread of Catholicism: Abuses by Spaniards and Catholic Officials

After the Spaniards arrived in the Andes, the priests and missionaries also began arriving in order to spread Catholicism to the Andean peoples. It was part of their mission to bring the Andean peoples to the Christian faith and help them no longer be “heathens” and “savages.” This is something they had done many times before in the Caribbean Islands and Mexico. The Spanish believed that it was their duty to save the Andeans peoples’ souls, although at times this may have mostly been the idea of the missionaries and priests rather than the laypeople who were focused on gaining power and wealth. The missionaries and priests did believe they were doing God’s work by spreading Catholicism to the Andeans and helping them become modern and Catholic. However, there were moments when the Spaniards, missionaries included, would abuse the Andeans and force them to Catholicism. They would also abuse Andeans if they were not practicing the correct form of Catholicism, such as if they were still participating in old religions.

Bartolomé de las Casas was a friar who believed in the rights of indigenous peoples in the Americas, and he wrote *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies* about what he and others witnessed in the lands. In his chapter on Peru, he tells of how the Spaniards were “killing many and enslaving the rest, treating them the while in the most barbaric and cruel fashion.”⁶⁶ He also publishes the account of Marcos de Niza in this chapter, and Niza describes how the Andeans were always kind and friendly towards the Spaniards and were “the best disposed of all

⁶⁶ Bartolomé de las Casas, *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies* (London: Penguin, 1992), 108, <http://www.columbia.edu/~daviss/work/files/presentations/casshort/>.

the indigenous people of the New World.”⁶⁷ He then describes how the Spaniards were killing all the people who treated them with respect, and that after they had killed many of the leaders, the Spaniards killed many Andeans “even though they had done absolutely nothing whatever to merit such treatment.”⁶⁸ Niza describes in detail the different ways the Spaniards were murdering Andean peoples in a very small area of Peru. He also mentions that “there was nothing I could do to stop them, even though I preached against it as effectively as I could.”⁶⁹

After Casas finishes Niza’s account, he mentions that Niza wrote this in a specific area a few years before Casas wrote his own account, and he wants readers to understand that since Niza’s account, “over a thousand times as many local people have been murdered ... a substantial proportion of the human race has been wiped out by these ruthless adventurers who fear neither God nor the King.”⁷⁰ Casas also mentions that these are Christians who are committing these acts against the Andean peoples who have done nothing wrong.⁷¹ It seems that he might believe that these Christians are not true Christians because of the violent acts they are committing against an innocent group of people.

Titu Cusi Yupanqui also describes the abuses by the Spaniards that he and his family faced. His focus is mostly on that of his father Manco Inca Yupanqui, who was imprisoned by the Spaniards and killed by them. During his imprisonments, he was greatly abused and later claimed that the Spaniards “are the sons not of Viracocha but of the Devil.”⁷² In this case, he refers to Viracocha as God, which is how the Incas were able to describe the God of Catholicism

⁶⁷ Casas, *A Short Account*, 110.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 111.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 113.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 114.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 115.

⁷² Titu Cusi Yupanqui, *An Inca Account*, 76.

by comparing it to their own creator, Viracocha. After the Spaniards learned of Manco Inca's anger, they tried to find a way to stop his anger with them, as he had threatened them multiple times.⁷³ In their apology, they described how good and holy their Viracocha is and how they hoped that he would prescribe to their faith.⁷⁴ They hoped that their Viracocha would help Manco Inca realize "the good deeds you have done us by making you realize who His most Holy Majesty is."⁷⁵

However, it was not long after this that the Spaniards once again imprisoned Manco Inca and abused him. His men claimed that the abuses the Spaniards were doing great harm and were indeed devils. They said that "today you arrest him; tomorrow you torment him; and the day after that you shower him with contempt."⁷⁶ They were also upset by the injustices done to Manco Inca, although the events that took place after show that the Spaniards were doing this in order to gain full control over the Andes and defeat the last of the Inca. Still, the reply the Spaniards gave to the Andean nobles show how harsh they were towards Andean peoples. They said that "if you won't shut up, I swear that I'll burn you alive and hack you to pieces."⁷⁷ Although this was not a threat towards Catholic Andean peoples, it still expresses the feelings the Spaniards felt towards the Andeans. These early sentiments show how they wanted to kill and murder Andean people, and these sentiments continued on into the colonial period when they continued to abuse and harm Andean people.

Along with this, Manco Inca predicted what would later happen when the Spaniards began converting the Andean peoples to Catholicism. In a speech, he explained that the

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 80-81.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 81.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 81.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 91.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 93.

Spaniards would “order you to worship what they themselves worship, namely some sort of painted rags that they claim to be Viracocha.”⁷⁸ He had a feeling that the Spaniards would begin to force the Andeans to practice a religion they did not believe in, and that they would be harmed if they did not do so. He had already faced great injustices and abuses at the hands of the Spaniards, so he most likely knew that they would treat the regular Andean peoples the same as him. He even went on to say that the Spaniards would “demand that you pray to these rags as you would pray to our huacas,”⁷⁹ which became true soon after his death.

An important source of Spaniard and Catholic abuses is the letter written by Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, known mostly by his Andean name Guaman Poma. He wrote this long letter to King Philip III of Spain in hopes that colonialism would end and that Andean autocracy would happen. Throughout the letter, he hopes that the information he provides about the injustices done by Spaniards, especially priests and missionaries, will show that the Andeans deserved their own government without help from the Spaniards. In his letter, he describes abuses from Spaniards, detailing their specific abuses and naming them by name for the king. He hoped this would be enough evidence to prove that the Spaniards were harmful towards native peoples. Although Guaman Poma was a devout Catholic, his descriptions of the abusive priests can lead to the argument that people in the Andes were uninterested in converting to Catholicism because of the harsh abuses they faced.

One of the great injustices to the Andeans was by Don Francisco de Toledo, the fourth viceroy in Peru. Guaman Poma claims that his rule in the area had “caused great harm, many quarrels, and terrible losses among the Indians.”⁸⁰ He also claims that Toledo allowed priests to

⁷⁸ Ibid., 116.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 116.

⁸⁰ Guaman Poma, *The First New Chronicle*, 149.

have children with Andean women, even if it went against their faith.⁸¹ He also writes that under the command of Toledo, that Spaniards would take over certain areas in the Andes, and on one occasion, the Spaniards “fooled [those people] and made them Christians, they began to pressure them, mistreat them, and demand gold and silver from them.”⁸² The Andeans then rebelled against the Spaniards and killed all of them for what they had done. Although the Andean people had committed the crime of murder, it seems that they were rightly allowed to do so based on how the Spaniards were treating them. They had suffered from the abuses supported by Toledo and wanted to be treated with respect, rather than hatred.

Based on this example, the Andean people converted to Catholicism as the Spaniards wanted, but after the abuses, they changed their faith and attacked those who were harming them. Although Guaman Poma is using this as an example to show why the Spaniards were corrupt and harmful towards Andeans and that they should not rule or control the Andeans, it can also be used as an example of resistance to Catholicism and how hybrid religions were created. The Andean people were learning of this new, interesting religion, but decided to rebel against its leaders. If the Spaniards had not been abusive towards them, then perhaps conversion could have taken place and the Andean people would have gladly become Catholics. They most likely would have still merged it with their own religion, but would have become more devout and not murderous. They were able to convert to the religion, and with this in mind, they may have continued practicing it in their own way with their own standards by merging it with their own religion.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 149.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 187.

Another important example from Guaman Poma is that of Gregorio Lopez de Puga who was a Corregidor who replaced the previous Corregidor Licentiate Cristobal de Ovando.⁸³ Ovando was evidently a man who “caused sheer destruction and great harm to the noble caciques and poor Indians.”⁸⁴ He was a friend of the priests, who Guaman Poma claims were also harmful towards the Andeans and that this was the cause of his friendship with them. He had caused great harm to the area, and his harm had caused many Andean peoples to disrespect Catholicism and turn to their old ways. However, Gregorio Lopez de Puga was a good Christian who wanted to save the Andeans and help them regain their faith. Guaman Poma personally knew this man and instructed him to “not befriend the priests and encomenderos, nor should he keep Spaniards or deputies.”⁸⁵ In this scenario, Guaman Poma describes how the Spaniards were harmful towards the Andean peoples. He does not specifically describe what they did to the people, but only that they were very harsh and abusive. Still, it is important to note that these abuses were harmful and caused Andean people to convert to Catholicism on the outside, but in reality, they were faking their faith and continuing their old practices.

Guaman Poma also describes the abuses by priests. Guaman Poma writes how the priests and padres of the Catholic faith were disobeying their orders and harming the Andeans and forcing them to convert to the faith. He claims they are greedy, commit “the sins of the flesh,”⁸⁶ and do things that are so horrible that they “cannot be put into writing.”⁸⁷ He believes they should be punished for their sins and that they truly are not men of God or Christ, which was important for priests during this time. After this quick description, he goes on to list each of the

⁸³ Ibid., 175.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 175.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 175.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 208.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 208.

major sins the priests are committing in their communities, such as abusing Andeans so harshly that the Andeans “keep away from them in fear.”⁸⁸ They also have children with women, sell items for personal gain, use the Andean peoples as slaves, and live with unmarried women who they sometimes force to have sex with, and do not obey the laws of Catholic faith.⁸⁹ To Guaman Poma, these were great sins that were harmful towards Andeans. They were teaching that sinning was allowed, yet they would punish Andean peoples who did not hold true to the faith or simply did not respect the priest the way the priest wished to be respected.

Guaman Poma believed that Spaniards were harmful towards the Andean peoples because of how they practiced Christianity. They were not good Christians who upheld their faith, but were instead dangerous and unholy. He claims that they are unable to properly learn Catholicism because of the priests who are bad teachers and unable to properly assist the Andeans.⁹⁰ He says that this is mostly because of the sins the priests commit, such as having married women in their homes “to scratch his belly and others to rub it.”⁹¹ Because of this, the Andean peoples are converting to Catholicism, but continuing to practice their old religions and committing idolatry. Guaman Poma is worried about the Andean peoples because they “have learned the very worst, when they should instead have been learning the best from the Christians, who teach them the worst things of all.”⁹² He wants these people to become good Christians like himself, but they are unable to do so because of the abuses they face and the fact that these abuses cause them to return to their old ways. In this way, the abuses by Spaniards caused the Andean peoples to continue practicing their old religions while also practicing Catholicism,

⁸⁸ Ibid., 208.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 208-213.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 274.

⁹¹ Ibid., 274.

⁹² Ibid., 274.

which led to a hybrid religion in the highlands. The Spaniards caused the Andeans to feel like they were forced to practice Catholicism or else they would be harmed greatly.

Along with this, there is the tale written by Cristobal de Molina who claims that the Andeans throughout the mountains had suddenly created a story about how the Spaniards would be defeated.⁹³ The Andean peoples had grown tired of the abuses they encountered by the Spaniards, especially the priests, and created a tale of how the Spaniards would be defeated once and for all, and the Andeans would rule the land once more. They were no longer strictly following the Catholic faith, although they practiced it in certain ways, but were instead “returning to the idolatry that they practiced in the time of their infidelity.”⁹⁴ According to this, the Andeans believed that if they visited the home of a Spaniard, they would most certainly be killed.⁹⁵

Although a Spaniard is writing this account and claiming that the Andeans were lunatics, it is evident from this reading that the Andean peoples were terrified of the Spaniards. They believed they would be abused and harmed by these people if they did not act properly. The abuses they suffered were so great that they created tales of how the Spaniards would one day all randomly die and the Andes would be returned. If the Spaniards were indeed not harming the Andean peoples, then why would an entire group create a tale where their abusers were defeated? Why would they be so terrified to even approach or speak to a Spaniard? Although the Spaniard recounting this tale is making fun of it, it is still important for better understanding the feelings Andean peoples felt about the Spaniards and abuses they faced.

⁹³ Molina, *Account of the Fables*, 84.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 84.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 85.

Before his death, Manco Inca said that the Spaniards would “get you to worship what they worship through force and deceit.”⁹⁶ He was already predicting how the Spaniards would be forcing Andean peoples to convert to a religion they may not have believed in. Although Guaman Poma was a devout Catholic, he also seemed to agree with this statement as many priests and Spaniards would force the Andean peoples to practice Catholicism, which he did not agree with as, previously mentioned, he wanted them to be taught by good, holy Christians who would not harm the Andeans. Although Manco Inca was against Catholicism and Guaman Poma was a strong supporter of it, they still seem to have agreeing statements about the Spaniards and the abuses they caused towards Andean peoples, although Guaman Poma focuses mostly on how these abuses affected Catholic Andeans.

The abuses of Spaniards are vital in understanding the creation of a hybrid religion. The Andean people faced these abuses and saw a side of Christianity they did not want to be part of. Guaman Poma writes about how these abuses sometimes led to people betraying Catholicism by practicing it alongside their old religions. Andeans began to believe that the best way to escape these abuses were to pretend to be Catholic. As people began pretending to practice Catholicism, future generations began to do the same, but believing in the religion more than their ancestors. By growing up in a community that practiced Catholicism and Andean religion, Andean peoples began to merge them together and create one religion. This became possible because of the abuses of Spaniards who forced them to convert, and the people decided to pretend to convert in order to not be abused anymore, although this did not always work for them. The abuses that Casas, Niza, Titu Cusi Yupanqui, and Guaman Poma describe are important for better understanding the society that Andean peoples lived in and how this society influenced their

⁹⁶ Titu Cusi Yupanqui, *An Inca Account*, 116.

religious activities. This society shaped the way that Andeans lived and believed, and because of this, the abuses also shaped the way that they thought about Christianity. If they saw the Christians as being a violent, evil group of people, they would no longer want to practice the religion and instead continue practicing their old religion where they were less violence.

Chapter Four

The Andean Inquisition: The Extirpation and Andean Religious Beliefs

As Andean people began practicing Catholicism alongside their old religions, the Spanish began to worry about what this could possibly mean for the Catholic faith. They began to implement the Spanish Inquisition in Peru in hopes that this would solve the problem of heresy. It was known that different Andean spiritual leaders were still participating in Andean religious activities and allowing Andean peoples to practice their old religion in secrecy from the Church, and the Church and Spain wanted to bring this to an end. It was unholy and inappropriate for the Andeans to be practicing both religions at the same time, especially as their old religion was often viewed as paganism due to the religious leaders being “a minister of his people’s gods, a confessor and dogmatizer at festivals, an expert at divination.”⁹⁷ By continuing these old practices, they were practicing both Catholicism and Andean religions which was heretical behavior.

The Spanish Inquisition came to Peru to stop heretics from practicing sinful and incorrect Catholic religions, along with finding any Jews or Muslims in the area. The Inquisition may have also wanted to bring a stop to the Andean religious practices by arresting different Andeans who were practicing both religions at the same time. However, this did not happen as King Philip II decided in 1571 that native peoples of Spanish colonies were unable to be tried by the Inquisition.⁹⁸ He believed that these people were too simple-minded and naïve to be able to truly understand Catholicism, and that the Inquisition would do more harm than good towards native

⁹⁷ Mills, *An Evil Lost to View*, 56.

⁹⁸ Griffiths, “Inquisition of the Indians,” 19.

peoples.⁹⁹ The crowd decided that because they were so naïve, that they did not deserve the brutality of the Inquisition, and instead other means of punishment would be beneficial. A new form of the Inquisition was created and it became known as the Extirpation.¹⁰⁰ Griffiths calls the Extirpation the “bastard child” of the Inquisition and Peru as it was created on the same model of the Inquisition, but lacked the jurisdiction of the Inquisition and often failed to stop Andean peoples from practicing their old religions.¹⁰¹ The Extirpation also allowed for forced religious conversions as they believed they needed to bring Andean peoples to Catholicism.¹⁰² However, the Extirpation led to “the destruction of Andean religious places, the repression and punishment of ‘idolaters’, and the erection of crosses and churches in symbolic triumph over paganism.”¹⁰³ This destruction by the Extirpation meant that many Andean peoples were upset by their homes and lands being destroyed and their way of life being changed to what the Spaniards deemed appropriate. In this way, many Andeans defied the Extirpation, especially as it was not as harmful towards them as the Inquisition might have been, and they continued their old practices alongside Catholicism.

The Extirpation believed in the forced conversions of Andean peoples, and this was supported by the Church of Lima which believed that conversions to Catholicism by special priests and missionaries would allow the Andeans to no longer practice heresy and idolatry.¹⁰⁴ The Extirpation began by having a *visitador general de las idolatrías* (visitor-general) go to different villages and study the religious practices of Andean peoples.¹⁰⁵ They hoped that this

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 19.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 20.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 20.

¹⁰² Mills, *An Evil Lost to View*, 21.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 21.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 25.

¹⁰⁵ Griffiths, “Inquisition of the Indians,” 21.

would allow them to better understand what was happening within these communities and what exactly they were worshipping. The visitor-general would also question the people in the community about their personal religious practices, and of the religious practices of the other people within the community.¹⁰⁶ They would then conduct trials for those who were possibly guilty, much like the Inquisition would, and they would carry out sentences for those found guilty.¹⁰⁷ In this way, they hoped “to lead relapsed Christian Indians back into the fold.”¹⁰⁸ They believed that by studying the communities and charging the Andeans with heresy crimes, this would allow them to have a truly Christian community. Even so, the Extirpation failed in their mission to stop Andean religions and bring true Catholicism into the communities, due to very few visitor-generals going into communities.¹⁰⁹ The Extirpation simply did not have enough campaigns to truly do the work it was meant to do and failed to become an institution in the same way the Inquisition had.¹¹⁰ The few campaigns and trials they did have would often be dismissed because of an “absence of clear proof of idolatry.”¹¹¹ Without this proof, most cases were thrown out by the Extirpation and Andean peoples who were possibly guilty of these crimes were able to possibly continue their old practices without getting in trouble.

The Extirpation tried once again in the middle of the seventeenth century to bring a stop to Andean religions under Archbishop Pedro de Villagomez.¹¹² Villagomez hoped that the visitors-general would bring about a stop to Andean religions as they had become even more idolatrous and heretical. However, this mission once again failed and the Extirpation was unable

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 21.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 22.

¹⁰⁸ Mills, *An Evil Lost to View*, 26.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 26-27.

¹¹⁰ Griffiths, “Inquisition of the Indians,” 22.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 26.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 23.

to implement their laws or investigate Andean communities.¹¹³ The Extirpation failed again because it still was not an official institution, and it lacked a permanent council and representation of localities.¹¹⁴ The Jesuits also decided they would not associate with the Extirpation because it was harmful towards Andeans.¹¹⁵ By claiming the Extirpation was harmful, the Jesuits were siding alongside the idea that the Inquisition was harmful towards Andeans and that any type of force similar to the Inquisition would undo all of their missionary work and make the Andeans more rebellious. Villagomez wanted to focus on ending religious problems, while the Jesuits wanted to focus on teaching the Andeans and helping them better understand Catholicism.¹¹⁶

There were many reasons the Extirpation failed to stop Andean religious practices, and it was not only because of the disorganization of the institutions itself. The Inquisition did not consider Andean peoples because they would be “tempted to lie and avenge themselves on their enemies, they would use the institution for these purposes.”¹¹⁷ This quickly became the case of the Extirpation, and many Andean people began claiming their enemies were practicing idolatry in order to have them put on trial. There were many instances where these accusations were false, and the Andeans would be lying in the courts to hurt their enemies.¹¹⁸ The Extirpation could have not allowed Andeans to bring charges against others, and instead allow only the visitor-general to bring charges against people. By allowing Andeans to do this, the Extirpation courts became messy with many people abusing the power.

¹¹³ Ibid., 23.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 24.

¹¹⁵ Mills, *An Evil Lost to View*, 27.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 28.

¹¹⁷ Griffiths, “Inquisition of the Indians,” 27.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 27.

Along with this, the Extirpation itself was a confusing force of power. It believed in punishing Andean peoples, but it also believed in helping and supporting them. By having such a confusing concept, this could have also led to its downfall in stopping Andean religious practices. As mentioned previously, the Extirpation would arrest those accused of idolatry and heresy, but it would also go into communities and preach Catholicism to Andean peoples who were not true, good Catholics. This itself is confusing as they were wanting to punish the people mixing the religions together, but they also wanted to help them by preaching and missionizing them. This entire idea could have led to the reason the Extirpation was unable to form a true institution with a permanent power as many people were confused as to what exactly the Extirpation stood for.

The original Extirpation included the visitor-general and Jesuit priests who would preach to the people.¹¹⁹ They would preach throughout the entire process of the visitor-general investigating the people, and when the trials were happening, the Jesuit priests were still teaching the people.¹²⁰ The Extirpation believed that by doing these both at the same time, they would be able “to persuade the Indians to surrender their idols.”¹²¹ This rarely worked and instead the Extirpation created a sense of confusion within the communities. Griffiths says that by having the trials and teachings at the same time from the same institution, it meant that the entire Extirpation process with very uneasy and confusing to the people within the Extirpation and the Andean peoples experiencing it.¹²² This confusion led to the end of the Extirpation, and it also led to Andean peoples continuing to practice both Andean religions and Catholicism. If the

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 29.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 29.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 29.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 29.

Extirpation could have possibly decided upon trialing idolatry or teaching why idolatry was incorrect, then it may have been more organized as an institution.

The Extirpation was a failure when convincing the Andean peoples to no longer practice their old religions. With some of the Extirpation failings, Andean peoples would feel rebellious and participate in “pre-Columbian beliefs and practices in defiance of the Church.”¹²³ They began more fervently practicing their old religions as a way of showing their defiance towards Catholicism and the rules the priests set up for them. They were against the Extirpation and wanted to show their defiance in a way that proved their anti-Catholic beliefs. When the Spanish would try to preach to the people or sometimes put people on trial, the Andean religious priests found a way to defy their teachings.¹²⁴ These people wanted to continue practicing their old beliefs, and doing so made them rebellious towards the Catholic Church and colonial rule. Of course, there were some Andeans who agreed with the Extirpation and would help in finding Andean religions and bringing them to an end.¹²⁵ However, there were still many Andeans who would defy the Church and colonization.

Those who did not defy the Church participated in finding Andeans who practiced the old religions, and they would often name them by name when the Extirpation came to the community.¹²⁶ Many times these were elites who would describe “the locations of forbidden shrines and the names of native ministers.”¹²⁷ For the most part, it was Andean elites who would discuss things with the Extirpation, as it was often the lower-class individuals who would

¹²³ John Charles, *Allies at Odds: The Andean Church and Its Indigenous Agents, 1583-1671* (University of New Mexico Press, 2010), 133, ProQuest Ebook Central, <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ucb/detail.action?docID=1118945>.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 133.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 133.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 137.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 138.

practice the old Andean beliefs. The Extirpation began hoping that Andean elites would become Catholic leaders in their communities and force the commoners to become devout Catholics.¹²⁸ They would also convince kurakas “to renounce publicly their allegiance to the huacas and to persuade their subjects to do the same.”¹²⁹ By having the kurakas announcing their religious beliefs, they would hopefully be able to convince commoners to do as their kurakas and become Catholic. Bringing common people to Catholicism was an important goal of the Extirpation as they wanted to completely get rid of Andean religions and only allow for Catholicism. If commoners were still practicing their old religions, then they would never be able to create a truly Catholic society.

However, the Extirpation still greatly failed in its mission to convert people to Catholicism and to punish those who were incorrectly practicing Catholicism. People were still able to get away with their old religious practices. Many times, the common people would not speak of incorrect Catholic practices in their community as they were also practitioners of this. They also would continue attending Andean religious events where Andean priests would talk about the old religion. Those in the Extirpation believed this was harmful as “native-language preaching was the surest and most lasting remedy for indigenous superstition and huaca worship.”¹³⁰ Because of this, some Catholic priests would begin preaching in Quechua in hopes that this would convince Andeans to practice Catholicism rather than other religions.¹³¹ However, this did not necessarily work because many Andean peoples who would attend these Catholic sermons would still attend Andean religious sermons and rituals. The Extirpation hopes

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 138.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 138.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 140.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 141.

that preaching in Quechua would convince them to convert to Catholicism and leave behind their old religions, but it seemed to do the opposite. People would still convert to Catholicism and practice the religion, but at the same time they practiced Andean religions. They also began mixing the religions together, creating a new hybrid that focused on both religions and the ideas behind them.

Although the religions began mixing together, the Catholic priests were not the only ones upset by this mixture. Andean priests were also against this hybridity and “opposed all forms of Catholic observance and admonished Indians for venerating the ‘Spanish God’ and his ‘mute’ saints.”¹³² Andean priests would often forbid people from attending Catholic Mass; according to some Catholic priests, the Andean priests would also cast spells on the Catholic priests and make them become sick and die.¹³³ They did not want their people to betray the old religions and convert to something like Catholicism. However, their own efforts did not work just as the Catholic Extirpation did not work. Andean peoples continued practicing old religions and Catholicism at the same time, much to the displeasure of priests from both sides.

Some of the trials the Extirpation was able to hold are able to show the hybridity between Catholicism and Andean religions. In the case of Governor Don Rodrigo de Guzman Rupay Chagua, they focused on how his community were continuously practicing Andean religions.¹³⁴ He told the Extirpation that Hernando Caruachin was an Andean spiritual leader, but also a practitioner of Catholicism.¹³⁵ He told the Extirpation of a huaca in the church that was hidden beside the crucifix so that parishioners could practice Catholicism and Andean religion at the

¹³² *Ibid.*, 144.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 144.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 146.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 146.

same time in the same place.¹³⁶ He evidently would hold Andean rituals in the church, but they were often mixed with some form of Catholicism. He would pray to God and then conduct a sacrifice.¹³⁷ This shows that some spiritual leaders were beginning to mix Catholicism with their old rituals. It became important to for many leaders to conduct their rituals within the churches as they were a holy place.¹³⁸ Caruachin allowed for this mixing in the Huamantanga region, and Rupay Chagua allowed this and would practice both religions himself, which is why he was on trial.¹³⁹

The Andean religious leaders who began mixing their practices with the Catholic Church allowed for the hybrid religion to come into existence. Many commoners would be practicing their old religions and Catholicism and considering them to be the same thing. It was not strange for them to practice these at the same time. As they began seeing their religious leaders slowly mixing with Catholicism, they began to do the same thing. Some obviously did this by their own accord as their religious leaders believed that mixing the two was wrong. Still, there was an increase overtime of Andean spiritual leaders supporting the hybridity between Catholicism and Andean religions. The Extirpation tried to stop this, but failed in doing so multiple times, which allowed for the hybridity to continue to expand and grow.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 146.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 146.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 147.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 147.

Chapter Five

Conclusion: The Creation of a Catholic-Andean Hybrid Religion

Although many people opposed the creation of a Catholic-Andean hybrid religion, this religion still came into existence and continues to exist in the modern day. There were many ways this religion came to be in the Andes, and it is important to understand how this happened. Without understanding these past events, the religion itself would be hard to understand as to why and how it exists. The people throughout the highlands of Peru still practice their old religions while considering themselves devout Catholics, but those in the Vatican might disagree with them because of some of these pagan rituals that existed long before the Spaniards arrived in the mountains.

Before the Spaniards arrived, the Andeans were practicing their own form of religion that was in many ways similar to Catholicism. The Spaniards may have considered these practices to be barbaric and pagan, but as Guaman Poma says, the Andeans “were not barbarous nor fainthearted.”¹⁴⁰ Their practices were like those of Catholics, and other Andeans such as Inca Garcilaso pointed this out. The Andeans believed in mummification ancestor worship, and their ancestors were some of the most important figures in society, especially those of the Inca. Their ancestor worship may have seemed strange to the Spaniards, but it was like the Catholic practice of sainthood. The Catholic saints are considered holy, worshipped in certain ways, and have holidays to celebrate their sainthood; the Andean ancestors were also worshipped and had different holidays dedicated to them. Both religions had a type of religious, celibate woman. The Andeans had the Virgins of the Sun and the Catholics have the nuns. These two groups are very

¹⁴⁰ Guaman Poma, *The First New Chronicle*, 326.

similar to one another, and as discussed, Inca Garcilaso believed that they were alike and the Virgins of the Sun were the holiest part of the Inca State religion. Finally, there were the priests that both religions had and honored. Priests within both religions were seen as important and holy, and they were the ones who had the ability to talk to God or the ancestors.

The two religions were so alike to one another that it was easy for Andeans to switch from their old religion to the new. As mentioned, they had already created hybrid religions when the Inca conquered the different ayllus throughout the Andes and told these people to practice the new religion. They would allow them to continue their old religions, but they also needed to become devout to the new Inca State religion. This practice and history meant that many people began doing the same thing when Catholicism entered the area. They saw a religion with similarities to their own and began mixing it with their old religions. Already the religious life throughout the Andes was very diverse in the different regions, so the addition of a new religion increased this diversity. Catholicism became integrated into Andean society as missionaries and priests began entering the different communities. They did not want the people to mix their old religions with Catholicism, but the old practices in the Andean region meant that this mixture was going to happen no matter how hard the Catholics tried to stop it.

One way the Catholics tried to stop religious mixture was through their cruelty towards Andean peoples. This cruelty began in different ways as the conquistadores entered Peru and began abusing and killing the Andeans. Casas describes these abuses from what he had personally seen and from what his fellow Friar Niza saw. Titu Cusi Yupanqui describes how the Spaniards were violent towards his father Manco Inca Yupanqui, and how his father believed they were unholy dangerous people and that their religion was supported by violence. His father hated the Christians for what they had done to the Andean peoples and how they had abused

them in the name of their religion. Along with this, Guaman Poma describes the abuses from Spaniards during the colonial period. He often names these abusers by name and tells of the exact village they resided in and how they hurt the Andean peoples. These abuses continued throughout the Andes, and it was very rare that the Spaniards would be punished for what they did.

Although Molina does not specify abuses himself, he recounts the story of how Andeans believed that the Christian Spaniards would soon be killed by Viracocha, the Inca god, and the Andeans would once again rule their territory. By carefully examining this story and looking at the different ways he retells it, it seems that the Andeans created this story as a way of trying to explain that Viracocha was possibly testing them and that soon order would be returned. The abuses they received from the Spaniards caused them to create stories such as this one of how they hoped and wished to escape the abuses. They hoped to one day have their freedom returned to them and for the abusive Catholic Spaniards to leave. This story tells of how the Andeans felt about the Spaniards and hints at how they suffered.

These abuses led to many Andeans pretending to practice Catholicism in hopes they would not be harmed. This was not always the case as even the most devout Andean Catholics would still be harmed by the Spaniards, especially the encomenderos who were not as worried about Catholicism but were more focused on their labor ownership. Guaman Poma also believed that some priests were like this too, and instead they focused on the labor they could receive from the Andeans instead of actually preaching to them. They wanted them to basically be their slaves and do all of the work. The priests were not as focused on preaching and spreading Catholicism as they were on having people do their chores and women being wife-like figures. By having these difficulties in the land, the Andeans would have seen Catholicism as an evil

religion that they did not want to participate in. Instead, they would continue practicing their old religions in secrecy. Once again, by practicing their old religions alongside Catholicism, they could create a hybrid religion over the years and generations.

The Extirpation in the Andes also became a way of allowing for Andean-Catholic religions to continue existing. The Extirpation believed that such mixture and hybridity was illegal and idolatry, so they were created to bring a stop to these sinful acts, especially as the Spanish Inquisition could not legally put Andean peoples on trial. However, the Extirpation failed multiple times because of many different reasons, such as lack of a central power and organized councils. It also failed because it was a confusing establishment. It wanted to teach the Andean peoples Christianity and how to be good Christians, but it also wanted to punish Andeans who were not good Christians. They put many Andeans on trial for idolatry and heresy because they were not properly practicing Catholicism. They would do these trials while they were in the villages, so they were also preaching in the villages to tell Andeans how mixing religions was sinful and they needed to stop doing this. The entire system became confusing to the people in the Extirpation and the Andean peoples being tried by it.

Although the Extirpation was mostly a failure, it did have a few trials that help better understand the religious mixing happening in the highlands. There were some cases where they would be putting mestizo leaders on trial for allowing religion mixing in their communities, and these leaders would begin naming the different crimes committed against the Catholic Church. Some of these trials gave detailed information about how Andean peoples felt about their old religions and Catholicism, and how mixing the two did not seem to bother them. There was also information about how some of the Andean religious priests agreed with the Catholic priests that religious mixing was wrong and harmful to the people, but the Andeans continued to ignore both

sides and mixed the religions together. However, some Andean religious priests and Catholic priests began to believe that some mixing was okay and did nothing to stop it. This led to Andean rituals being practiced within churches and huacas being worshipped in the churches. Against the wishes of many officials, the Andean peoples began to intertwine the two religions.

Along with these three ways of creating a hybrid religion, there were other ways that Andeans allowed for this creation that I was unable to mention. These are simply three that I believed were the most important to consider when thinking about the hybridity. Other historians often focus on the encomiendas and haciendas, and how these allowed for religious mixture. I was at one point considering the encomiendas for religious hybridity, but most of the research I did focused on the other ideas I have written about. The encomiendas and haciendas were important for religious hybridity as they were areas where the Andeans resided. The encomiendas were often required to have churches built on the land and for a priest to live there in order to have mass each Sunday for the Andeans to attend. However, this still led to Andeans practicing their old religions and believing in the idea of the Catholic Church. They believed in doing their own practices alongside Catholicism. The encomiendas would have also led to religious hybridity. However, I wanted to focus on what was happening on these encomiendas and how the Andeans were reacting to Catholicism. By considering the religious similarities, abuses from Spaniards, and failings of the Extirpation, I was still in a way considering the encomiendas, but not focusing on them.

I focused mostly on how the creation of a hybrid religion happened and why it happened in this region, and did not discuss what this hybrid religion looked like. At times, I did hint at how it changed Catholic rituals and holidays to incorporate Andean rituals with coca leaves and sacrifices. The creation of this religion is important in understanding what this religion could

possibly be, and why it even exists. However, this itself is hard to discuss as different ethnic groups throughout the Andean Mountains have their own way of understanding Catholicism and Andean religions and the hybrid Andean Catholicism. The Andean Mountains have always been a very diverse landscape with very different ethnic groups and religions, and this remains true with the colonial hybrid practices of Catholicism and the modern practices.

Titu Cusi Yupanqui, who described his father Manco Inca Yupanqui's abuses by the Spaniards and hatred of Christianity, became a Christian himself. He did so because of numerous Catholics asking him to convert to Christianity in order to create peace between his people and the Spaniards.¹⁴¹ Although he had converted to Catholicism, his account shows some of his confusion with the different saints within Catholicism. In Andean practices, there were many ancestors and Incas, and each one was its own sect of the official religion. Because of this, he writes that he wanted to know "which religion enjoyed the widest approbation and power."¹⁴² The Catholics told him that St. Augustine was "the mightiest, most respected, and most flourishing religion."¹⁴³ However, based on his personal account, it seems that he was somewhat forced to convert to Catholicism and that he also did not truly understand the religion, as he believed he needed to worship St. Augustine, much like he would have worshipped an Inca ancestor.

Modern Andean Catholicism shows that people still practice old Andean rituals alongside their Catholic holidays. Sallnow describes his personal experience in highland villages near Cuzco and the celebrations he witnessed there. In 1973, he witnessed villagers celebrating different Catholic holidays while performing folk dances that had been part of the Andes long

¹⁴¹ Titu Cusi Yupanqui, *An Inca Account*, 132.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 132-133.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 133.

before the Spaniards arrived.¹⁴⁴ They also use different Catholic holidays to participate in their old harvest festivals where they are fighting against “evil spirits, lightning, snow and hail”¹⁴⁵ which would harm their crops. These people are practicing a form of Catholicism that is entangled with Andean religious beliefs.

Along with this, Jorge Luis Delgado is from a small village near Lake Titicaca, which is known as the birthplace of the Inca and is a holy site for Andean religion. Delgado describes how in his childhood, there were huge festivals around the lake for the Catholic Madonna of Candelaria.¹⁴⁶ The people from villages from this region would celebrate this holiday, but they would often do so in a way that was very Andean with the way they danced and acted.¹⁴⁷ His family members were also very active in practicing Catholic holidays and celebrating the different saints. However, they were also very devout to the old Andean religions. He describes his mother as a spiritual healer who would use ancient methods of healing people throughout the villages.¹⁴⁸ His grandfather, uncle, and mother were yatiris, which means they practiced the old religions and were spiritual leaders who would conduct ceremonies and rituals.¹⁴⁹ This is a way of showing how Andean peoples still practice old Andean religions and Catholicism. Delgado also describes an encounter with a man named Antonio who also practiced Andean religions, but he claimed that “the Master Jesus is also considered to reside in the Hanan Pacha in connection to us and the Divine.”¹⁵⁰ Although this man mostly believes in Andean religions, such as the Hanan Pacha which is a world of light, he also believes in some aspects of Catholicism. His main

¹⁴⁴ Sallnow, “Manorial Labour,” 43.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 44.

¹⁴⁶ Delgado and Male, *Andean Awakening*, 23.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 21.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 20.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 20.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 59.

belief is Andean religion, but Catholicism is intertwined into what he believes and has become part of his religion.

There are already differences just from these accounts of Catholicism and Andean religion during the colonial era and modern era to show that there is simply not one religion throughout the Andes. I include this information to show how diverse the region is, and to show that there is more to consider when writing about Andean religions and how they have been integrated with Catholicism to create many hybrid religions throughout Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia. The Andes have always been a very diverse place, but the research into the creation of this religious diversity allows for a better understanding of how exactly Andean-Catholic hybridity came to exist and still exists to this day. Religious beliefs exist because of the different events that took place during colonization of the Andes, and colonization and rebellion allowed many religions to form throughout the Andean mountains, much to the displeasure of the Catholic Church.

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<http://www.columbia.edu/~daviss/work/files/presentations/casshort/>.

Bartolomé de las Casas was a Dominican friar who wrote about the rights of Indians in the Americas. He created the idea of the treachery of the Spaniards in colonial Latin America and how they were violent towards the Natives. This piece is important for my research as it also has some information on how las Casas and other friars were trying to convert the Natives to Catholicism. He claims that they were able to convert to Catholicism because they were so naïve and innocent, but there was certainly some bias in his writing.

Guaman Poma de Ayala, Felipe. *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno (The First New Chronicle and Good Government)*. Translated by David Frye. Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Pub. Co, 2006.

Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala was an indigenous Peruvian who wrote about the history of the Inca and the abuses the Spanish were committing against the Andean people. This will be important for my research as it will let me have a perspective from Inca society rather than Spanish society, especially as I am using an Andean approach to this topic. He also is important as he writes many chapters about Catholicism in the Andes and how other Andean people were practicing their old religions with Catholicism.

Molina, Cristobal de. *Account of the Fables and Rites of the Inca*. Translated by Brian S. Bauer and Vania Smith-Oka. University of Texas Press: 20110. ProQuest Ebook Central.

<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ucb/detail.action?docID=3443536>.

Molina's account is important for better understanding Inca religion and also how the Andeans felt about Catholicism and the abuses by the Spaniards. He recounts how the Andeans created a story of how they would regain their rights in Peru, and although he is making fun of this belief, it is still important for my own research and analysis.

Vega, Inca Garcilaso de la. *Comentarios Reales de los Incas (The Royal Commentaries of the Incas)*. Translated by Maria Jolas. New York: The Orion Press, 1961.

Inca Garcilaso was a mestizo writer from the Andes. His mother was an Inca and his father was a Spaniard. He grew up with his mother and her family, and later began living with his father and his Spanish society. His book is about the culture of the Inca Empire and is based off what his maternal family said about it as they had lived before the Spanish conquest. He also writes about the Inca religion and Catholicism. However, he claims that the Inca converted to Catholicism, but this is somewhat biased as he did spend most of his life in Spain rather than the Andes.

Yupanqui, Titu Cusi. *An Inca Account of the Conquest of Peru*. Translated by Ralph Bauer. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2005.

Titu Cusi was the second to last Inca emperor and ruled in the neo-Inca capital Vilcabamba. He wrote about the conquest of the Inca Empire and how colonization changed the Andean landscape. He converted to Christianity after meeting with many friars and missionaries in Vilcabamba. He also practiced many Andean religious beliefs. His account is relevant in my research as he was practicing a hybrid religion, and many people within his court also practiced this hybridity.

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<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ucb/detail.action?docID=1118945>.

Charles describes the Andean religious life during the colonial period and the different factors that played into this world. He also gives a lot of information about the Extirpation in the Andes.

Charney, Paul. "A Sense of Belonging: Colonial Indian Cofradias and Ethnicity in the Valley of Lima, Peru." *The Americas* 54, no. 3 (January 1998): 379-407.

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1008415>.

Paul Charney describes how the cofradias in Peru led to indigenous practices of Catholicism. However, he also argues that this led to a merging of Catholicism and Inca religion as some of these indigenous peoples within cofradias were practicing both of these. This is important towards my own research as it provides information about the hybrid religion that the Andeans created.

Delgado, Jorge Luis, and MaryAnn Male. *Andean Awakening*. Council Oak Books, 2006.

This book is written by Jorge Luis Delgado with the assistance of MaryAnn Male.

Delgado believes in the old Andean religious way of life and writes this book to explain

that spirituality, but with a focus on the modern Andean highlands and the practices of people throughout the landscape.

Encyclopedia Britannica. "Bartolome de las Casas." Accessed December 5, 2017.

<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Bartolome-de-Las-Casas>.

This site is important in understanding who las Casas was.

Encyclopedia Britannica. "Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala." Accessed December 4, 2017.

<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Felipe-Guaman-Poma-de-Ayala>.

This site is important in understanding who Guaman Poma was.

Encyclopedia Britannica. "Garcilaso de la Vega." Accessed December 4, 2017.

<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Garcilaso-de-la-Vega-Spanish-chronicler>.

This site is important in understanding who Inca Garcilaso was.

Griffiths, Nicholas. "'Inquisition of the Indians?': The Inquisitorial Model and the Repression of Andean Religion in the Seventeenth-Century Peru." *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* 3, no. 1 (1994): 19-38.

Griffiths gives information about the Peruvian Inquisition and how it affected Andeans and their religious practices.

McEwan, McEwan. *The Incas: New Perspectives*. W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2006.

McEwan is an important source for better understanding the Inca religion, as he is very detailed in his descriptions and he also gives information about how the religion was spread throughout the Andean Mountains.

Mills, Kenneth. *An Evil Lost to View? An Investigation of Post-Evangelisation of Andean Religion in Mid-Colonial Peru*. University of Liverpool, 1994.

Mills's monograph discusses a specific case in Lima, Peru, when many Andean people

were practicing Andean religions and Catholicism all at once. The case is important when considering how the Spanish felt about the Andeans believing certain things from their old culture, and how the Church tried to control their lives.

Morris, Craig, and Adriana von Hagen. *The Incas*. London: Thames & Hudson Ltd, 2011.

In their book, Morris and Hagen describe the world of the Inca, such as their origins and life before conquest. They describe multiple aspects of the Inca world which is important for historians to be able to understand the world of the Inca. This is important because I am able to use their information to better understand the Inca society and their religious customs.

Sallnow, Michael J.. "Manorial Labour and Religious Ideology in the Central Andes: A Working Hypothesis." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 2, no. 2 (May 1983): 39-56.

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3338098>.

Michael J. Sallnow argues that religion in modern Peru is due to haciendas and that these led to the conversion of Andeans to Catholicism. His article is the closest piece of information I have been able to find that has a similar argument to my own. However, he also admits that his argument is not entirely solid as he does not know much about religious life on haciendas.

U.S. Department of State. "International Religious Freedom Report for 2016: Peru." Accessed December 11, 2017.

<https://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/irf/religiousfreedom/index.htm?year=2016&dliid=269002#wrapper>.

This site is important for gathering information about religion in modern Peru.